5: Kennedy
●621

OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9

/For traditional inter-community enmities, see also category 578./

124
634
632 really most powerful man in Ende is not the Radja but the fat and rather fresh hadji kapitan of Nggobe (a descendant evidently of the age-old tuan tanah Ambu Nggobe, the ancestor of Ende). Anyway the talk went well and I settled down to getting some basic facts.

634 The border between Ende and Ndona, which is
621 part of the state of Lio, is along the road in
648 front of the kapitan's house. On the other side, in Lio, is Watu Roga. These are really twin kampongs, and there is much intermarriage, and the clans are all intertwined. That is, the Watu Roga are really Endenese, and the border should be at the river Ndona behind Watu Roga. Behind this there is a natural boundary between Ende and Lio, a high ridge. But the Dutch for some reason in 1924 cut Watu Roga away from Ende by moving the border a few hundred feet west and along the road. The people of Watu Roga were recalcitrant and would not follow the Lio radja, but the Dutch came and tied ropes around their necks and hauled them off to jail. They finally gave in, but they still feel more like Endenese. This explains why the fellow yesterday said that the Watu Roga folk are in Lio and the Roworeke folk are in Ende. This is true in administration, but socially they are both
632 Endenese. The kapitan of Rewarangga (the one in Roworeke), however, should be kapitan of Watu Roga too, but he isn't, and the latter kampong falls within the kapitanschap of Ndona, far off and under the Lio radja. This is mad on any grounds, including social, cultural, and personal feelings of the local people.

621 Anyway, I found that Ende has nine kapitan-
632 schappen: Gunung Rodja (the southern half of Ende town), Nggobe (the northern half of Ende town), Barai, Rukuramba, Numba, Nangapandan, Tangadje, Pulo Ende (the island in the bay) and Rewarangga. This last is the kapitanschap here, and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.

R

778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah pemali. I must go there sometime.

574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put 291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth 386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen- [287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no more tapa around here. The colors of the woven and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black, and dull red. They are not very attractive, and the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with baskets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo] and that it is used to make the blue and black dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes, but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.

126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife and family including the fine type old mother.

• 621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are. 342 There is one large house, but most of the others 178 are rather small. They are not of the high pitched roof type. I was told that before the war there were more of the old high roof type, but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the people move into the hills as they said the population was too dense near the town. I can't quite get the point. but new houses tend to be low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat in type, but still look primitive because of the alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coconut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are usually low or invisible because they are under the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.

349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc- 769 ture looking something like a watchtower with 614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof. 766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

349 and in the corner is a long wooden drum used in
769 certain ceremonies. Most amazing, however, is
614 a box under the roof and set on planks across
766 beams. This box is covered with old ikat clothes and measures about 3x2x2 feet. In it are the bones of the great ancestor of the Wanda suku. The kapitan said they are "hundreds of years" old. When they have a suku feast, hundreds of people come here and kill buffaloes and dance and sing and pray, asking the ancestors for favors. They do not call them but call on them. All a-
764 round are the stone heap and slab graves of lesser folk. Bodies put in them are bound in the knee-to-chest posture. They often are too small to allow lying down anyway. I was told that many are placed in one cist, and new bodies are put in by lifting the slab and moving the old bones over.

286 I saw a back-bar loom and two women spinning
126 on primitive wheels from cotton fluff. It is im-
181 pressive and the threads they make are good. One old and one young woman were so employed. I started to take a photograph of the old one and a young lady came up and said that she was his mother and that if I took a photograph of her I had to give him one too. I closed the camera and went away. These are the least agreeable folk I have met yet in Indonesia. Still there are plenty of fine people here. Nevertheless, they are not uniformly polite as, for example, are most of the Buginese.

181 We then got out of Watu Roga, leaving discon-
126 tent, it seemed, as we had taken photographs but given none to the people as we had done across the road in Roworeke. I get the impression that the Watu Roga folk are a bit antagonistic possibly to the people in Roworeke. I also suspect that these Ende people are aggressive and competitive and grasping anyway.

621 Then we went around the sections of Roworeke. These are, so far as I can get them up to now:
[i.e., Watu Roga.--Analyst]

R

621 Nuamere (the kapitan's house is located here), Pudjambu, Aibod, Aiutu, Roworeke proper (the original kampong after they moved down from the negri lama), Kopodo (all Tibo suku, and small), and Wolomere. Thus there are seven. To the south, below Aiutu and Wolomere, is an open land stretching out toward Ende, on which various mixed folk have settled sparsely. The Roworeke [778] sections run up hill gradually from the road to the west, and the negri lama is located high above. All are on the west side of the road except the far south Wolomere, where the secretary lives. Wolomere is on the Watu Roga side of the road. There is an offshoot of Watu Roga on the Roworeke side. This is Paudari, and most, if not all, here are of the Wanda suku.

764 In Nuamere there is one high-roofed house, near the kapitan's. And here is a large concrete tomb set high above the houses. In the upper part, and alone, is the body of the kapitan who died in 1939. In the large lower part are tens of bodies of the Odja suku. When a new body is to be put in, an earthen section is dug up, which exposes an opening in the concrete tomb. The bones are pushed back and the body placed in and the earth replaced (are these bound in the knee-to-chest position?). There are many other rougher stone tombs which the kapitan said contain tens of bodies also. They do not know how many are contained in some of them as they are so old and have been used for so long.

621 Then we went to Pudjambu, the next place, and
766 it is like a small separate kampong by itself.
349 Then we went to another, rather farther off and
769 up on the rising stone-faced levels. It was fine.
614 This was the Roworeke proper, the ancestral kampong whence all others spread after moving down from the negri lama. It is a very fine place and I took a photograph. Here there is a high-set roofed tower like the Wanda one, and on planks

R

349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
●621 for at least seven generations. It too was
covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum
in this one. They said that when the ancestor
suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather
here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in
the other place. All around are many other stone
cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most
of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and
weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on
a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order
to flatten it before spinning. It looked just
like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw
an old woman preparing the loom threads in the
first stage of ikat work. The white threads were
wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat
sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This
again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go
to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go
along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle
tower an old mother said we had to leave an offer-
ing. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they
wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The
dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo
leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the
red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave
regular cloth, but the colors are always dull.
The designs are small and indecisive.

R

778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

Then we went back to the kapitan's house and
342 thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibod and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best house area. The secretary went to his section,
634 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
621 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright
578 stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

621 R
578 nature of these people. He said there are many
632 boundary disputes and have been many in the past.
144 Now I see the truth of the racial mixture zone here. All types are represented.

614 I get the impression that the suku were originally localized largely if not entirely. This is still so. Thus one part will be all or nearly all Odja, another similarly Wanda, another Tibo, etc.

591 I met a lad in Roworeke proper who is from a kampong which is rather far off. They said he had married a woman of Roworeke, and I thought perhaps this might be a case of ambil anak. This is not the case, however, and he had merely come there for a day, because his wife has land here. They live in his kampong. Residence is
178 patrilocal usually. Kattenburg remarked that in
578 material culture and in level of living the young
561 people are not much different from the old. They do wear different clothes, however, and as he says, in general outlook, religion, knowledge of and adherence to old thoughts and ways and religion, they differ. There must be an intergenerational conflict here, especially as they are so disputatious anyway. I must check on this.

344 The next day we set out early and got them to
217 let us work in the office. This is an amazing
124 place, with cocoanut stalk walls and a dirt floor. In one room (they are all empty of furniture), scattered on the floor, are the "files" of the kapitanschap. Some of them are in paper boxes and others are just on the dirt. They call the kapitanschap the "gemeente." We sat on the front "porch" on chairs that almost collapsed and at a table that leaned loosely at an alarming angle and slowly leaned more and more until it seemed impossible that it would keep from collapsing.
124 With us was the giri tumba of Rewarangga and later the kepala kampong (ata nggaeh nua) of Woro-

[Lic., Kennedy & Kattenburg --Analyst]

R

124 wai, a kampong a kilometer to the north which used to be part of Roworeke. Later still a policeman came from Ende who was there to help collect taxes. The kapitan drifted in and out and played around with the policeman's bike, and asked Kattenburg to get him a watch. He then asked Kattenburg to sell him some U.S. gold pieces. In general, he is a nuisance. If he could settle down he knows a fair amount about the genealogies, etc.

124 197 829 We started, as usual, with social organization and had a terrible time with it. They are all mixed up, or it is so partially wrecked that there is no order to it. I can't get to it because they don't get much of my Malay. Regarding the latter, they said not even twenty per cent of the people here can speak Malay, because the school has taught Malay only since the 1920's. Before that nobody here could speak Malay. Their Malay is full of queer words. Also, they know very little or nothing about the kampongs even a little way off although they may still be in the same gemeente. They know little about anything except in a very narrow circle.

632 621 I got the names of the kampongs in the gemeente (kapitanschap) Rewarangga:

	My spelling	Kapitan's spelling
1.	Roworeke	Rowo Reke
2.	Worowai	Woro Wae
3.	Manunggo'o	Mano Nggoö
4.	Worowaku	Woro Wekoe
5.	Arereke	Are Reke
6.	Pu'uperi	Poeöe Peri
7.	Kekawi'i	Keka Wiï
8.	Koavena	Koa Wena
9.	Vavoeü	Wawo Eoe
10.	Ratebedi	Rate Bedi
11.	Kekambero	Keka Mbero
12.	Nioreko	Nio Reko

R

	My Spelling	Kapitan's spelling
632	13. Pu'umbindi	Poeoe Mbindi
621	14. Mbago	Mbgko (?)
	15. Pemodjera	Pemo Djera
	16. Volofeo	Wolo Feo
	17. Bu'ube'i	Boeoebei
	18. Sokopedji	Soko Pedji

The w and v are, or seem to be, separate, but the spelling here seems to indicate that they are the same. F, however, is separate. Of the eighteen, Roworeke and Worowai used to be (up until the Japanese time) together, but now they are separate kampongs. I wonder if this did not happen before so recently. Also the three (Vavoeü, Ratebedi, and Kekambero) were once one, named Rabu. This is still used evidently once in a while for their general area. We got onto the
624 matter of the mosa laki, and it develops that in-
632 deed there are the Big Four for the gemeente, and in addition there is a Little Four in each kampong. The Big Four, however, are also the Little Four of both Roworeke and Worowai. Thus the mosa laki mere of Rewarangga is also the mosa laki mere of both Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The giri tumba of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Roworeke. The ndeto au of Rewarangga is also the giri tumba of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The sike sani of Rewarangga is also the sike sani of the kampongs Roworeke and Worowai. He lives in Worowai. The kampong combination is because Roworeke and Worowai were still one kampong until recently.

624 Each of the other sixteen kampongs has its own
621 Little Four. Also, each kampong of the eighteen has a kepala kampong or ata nggaeh nua, and his assistant, the oro kuni.

614 In each kampong there seems to be one suku

771 I see many old pagan men and women here, un-
301 like in Leloba. They wear necklaces, earbells,
291 and ikat sarongs. I saw one old man getting gin with bamboos. Many women here go about bare breasted.

304 Most people have their teeth filed. They are flattened.

621 The kepala kampong, who has sore eyes, say
124 that Leloba and Wailolong were combined in the negri lama. There is still much intermarriage and a very close relationship between these two. Later, when I got to work with the guru and he saw that I needed to get every name, etc., he was scared and said that it is easy if he has to do this in his kampong but hard in Wailolong. Thus there is a big gulf between even nearby kampongs. This question took us until 7:30 to talk over and we are still in trouble.

124 I knew this morning that I should not take a
123 man who is not a member of my kampong, but he is
115 so good in other ways that I yielded to the priest. It is clear that the main rule in this kind of research is: never take an assistant who does not live in the kampong. If you do he will not be received easily and he does not know the local gossip and intimate personal matters which would prove helpful. Also, I can't sit in his house in the kampong, and this is important for impressions. I may be able to work out a compromise at greater cost by using the Leloba guru but another assistant in Wailolong. This is a mess and from now on I follow my instinct on choosing an assistant. We finally left after dark.

797 At noon today I went to the mission headquarters to get gas. It alone has any, because V. and W. has no trucks here. I can see that the mission has everything. It is really the administration here. The pasanggrahan boy said that the Catholics here do not use the name "Christ" because this is taken to mean Protestant. In-

578 wars. There is no more head-hunting (but the
721 priest in the mission thinks it still goes on secretly, especially for the main post of a new korke).

53 The arts here are poor in all ways.

583 The bride price must be paid, but ambil anak
611 can occur. In the latter case a daughter or
237 daughters are given to the family in place of the
[556] price. This is especially true for the poor. Elephant tusks are needed for things such as the bride price, but this is evidently mainly for the uppers. And Krol said that nowadays, when the tusks have become rare, they often merely make the transfer in their heads, talking all night, and never actually transferring the real tusks from one family to another. It is a kind of clearing-house procedure. The tusks may be "transferred" up to twenty times in their heads, and they balance out in the end. Thus there is no real cost. It is a matter of delayed payment and really works out to a system of woman exchange between families. The tusk transfer is fictional. Thus A will "pay" tusks to B for a girl, and B will "pay" these to C for a girl, and C will "pay" them to A for a girl, and so on. The tusks, however, may even be non-existent in a particular case, and since they balance out in the end, no one really pays.

764 I was told that they used to put the bodies of
766 the war dead (I think) in trees before burial. Newborn children were buried in the kampong in front of the house. Cemeteries here were evidently placed outside the kampong.

124 We will return to Leloba tomorrow and try to
621 get the assistant matter straightened out. It
578 is notable that the guru said he is more comfortable working in an outside kampong. If the kakang gives the order the people must cooperate. This shows that the kampongs here are fiercely separatistic and only the upper government controls this atomism.

000 say it.

621 614 There are three levels in the organization: the kampong, the suku, and the ama (subsuku). There may also be sub-subsuku, but there is no term for this. The chief of the kampong is the kepala kampong (I must get the local term for this). There is also the kepala suku (but I have yet to get the local term for this). The subsib or ama chief is called the kelake. One man may have all three ranks in any one given case, but in another case may have only one or two. For example, the guru is the kepala suku of Hurint and also kelake of the Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng). The kepala kampong of Leloba, however, has no other rank.

Thus the system is as follows:

I. Ama Kottang
   1. Belepe Lolong (Buto Talu Maki(ng))
      (a) Belepe Lolong Lango' Bele' (big house, big power)
      (b) Belepe Lolong Lango' Kene' (small house, small power)
   2. Waktuka(ng)
   3. Ama Marang
      (a) Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) (bale-bale sea side, big)
      (b) Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng) (bale-bale land side, small)

II. Ama Keleng
   1. Tuakerura
   2. Ama Belemang

III. Ama Hurint
   1. Ama Waru'i(ng)
   2. Eramolik
   3. Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng)
      (a) Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng) Lango' Bele'
      (b) Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng) Lango' Kene'

IV. Lewodoreng
   1. Lewamaki(ng)
      (a) Lewamaki(ng)

621 (b) Lewamaki(ng) Nipatale' (slaves before)
614 2. Ekimaki(ng)
V. Lewonuhah
1. Lewonuhah Ama Kottang
2. Lewonuhah Ama Keleng

[567] Note the slave group which is worth later investigation. Note also the Ama Marang inside the Ama Kottang. Usually this is separate, but here it is assimilated to the Kottang. Note that the Ama Kottang and the Ama Keleng subdivisions of Lewonuhah are listed. The latter was once a separate kampong and the two subdivisions were suku in it. Lewo means kampong.

614 The people here refer to the "sixteen kelake" and there are sixteen groupings. Thus there are sixteen kepala ama. But actually there are only twelve kelake or kepala ama, in addition to the five suku chiefs. Some of the latter are double positions as is the kepala ama also, and they may even be kepala kampong at the same time. Anyway, the kelake are as follows:

I. 1. (a and b). Belepe Lolong
2. Waktuka
3. (a and b). Ama Marang
II. 1. Tuakerura
2. Ama Belemang
III. 1. Ama Waru'i(ng)
2. Eramolik
3. (a and b). Ola Demo(ng) Maki(ng)
(he also is the kepala suku Hurint, that is, guru Roy)
IV. 1. (a and b). Lewamaki(ng)
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ekimaki(ng)
V. 1. Ama Kottang
(he is also the kepala suku)
2. Ama Keleng

Thus of the five suku chiefs, three are also

000 of this but got nowhere. I can see that marriage is never reciprocal anyway.

582 583 237 614 621 The next day I questioned the guru about this, and after a long talk about kinship, which revealed that the mother's brother's daughter type of marriage is a regular type of thing, he came out with the classic statement that usually the tusks come back to the original payer in three moves. Thus, ideally this is a three-class, mother's brother's daughter, rotating system. However, the route of the tusks may be longer, involving up to twenty moves before they return to the original giver. But they try to make the circle as fast as possible, doing it in three moves if they can. Naturally, this is not always possible. We examined some cases of possible long routes, and he said it might be true that it would take up to twenty moves before the tusks returned. They try never to let the tusks go outside the kampong, and this may be why probably there is not much extrakampong marriage. But even if they did, they could close the circle by careful planning. He said, just as Wouden[1] might, that the mother's brother's daughter marriage and the bride price and the sib system are all part of a complete system. We will have more of this later.

114 Today, Friday, December 23, we started in on the Vatter[2] book which the mission lent to me. It is amazingly correct.

Among the corrections, etc., are the following: [304] tattooing against illness is not done in Leloba; [775] a tattoo mark is needed to be recognized on entering the deadland; [301] feather decorations are used only festively; the special woman's horsetail coiffure [302] is not used here any longer; [755] cotton is not placed in the ears for illness (55)[2]; [614] one of the sibs from Sina Djawa is Lewonuhah; the [784] term suku wung is used here (74)[2] wung having the sense of taboo.

[1] [See pp. 19-21, 85-88 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

782 suku, does the praying, as the Kottang, Kelen,
788 and Hurint do their jobs. The guru has seen old
614 men of all suku do the praying, but has never happened to see a Marang doing it. This is conclusive. He agrees that perhaps some relation exists between the term and the function and the suku, but he doubts it.

I read how Vatter,[1] shortly after he left
721 Leloba, heard that there was a war between Le-
682 loba and Waibalun. And right now while we are here, after nearly twenty years, there is a war between Leloba and Waibalun. They ask whether aliens here bring the wars. At present there are several Leloba men in jail because they have killed a Waibalun man (just the other day).

I read the passage in Vatter which tells that the guru's father, when he was kepala kampong, killed (I think) fourteen suwanggi in one day. The guru said that this was true and that nowadays even though there are still suwanggi the government will not allow them to be killed. The kepala kampong said that it happens once in a while that a man, plagued by the wickedness of a suwanggi, kills someone and is then sent to jail.

Then we started to work on the social organi-
614 zation of Wailolong. What is happening is that
• 621 I am getting material on the two kampongs and maybe that is the way to present it, not explicitly, but with emphasis on Wailolong. There
[184] are noticeable contrasts with the one hundred per cent Christian community.

Ama Datong, Leworita, Ama Hurint, and Lewato,
[788] and Lewodoreng are the suku. The first plays the part of Kottang in ceremonies. Kottang is not found here. Leworita plays the part of Kelen, which is not here. Hurint is O.K. The Datong are the original settlers here.

I. Ama Datong

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

Wa.

614 a. Ama Radja
● 621 b. Ama Belolong
c. Ama Rere

II. Leworita
a. Subamaki(ng)
b. Harutmaki(ng)
c. Tapobuka(ng)

III. Ama Hurint
a. Hadumbole(ng)
(1) Hadumbole(ng)
(2) Hadumbole(ng) Nipatale (slave descendants)
b. Marimaki(ng)
c. Melamaki(ng)

IV. Lewato
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Waktuka(ng)
c. Tuhowutung

V. Lewodoreng
a. Ama Waru'i(ng)
b. Engamaki(ng)

582 The marriages run as follows (I checked a few
614 from the woman's side and this is enough):
835

Men of	Marry Women of
Ia	IIIa2, IIIb, IIIc
Ib	IIIa1, IIIb, IIIc
Ic	IIIb, IIIc
IIa	I, IVa
IIb	Ia, Ic, IIIa, IIIb
IIc	III
IIIa1	Ic, IVb, V
IIIa2	Ib, IVb, V
IIIb	IIa, IVb, IVc, V
IIIc	IIa, IIb, IVc, V, (IIIa) (Note)
IVa1	III

We

584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

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291 similarity. The ikat work and weave patterns
184 of sarongs especially show certain differences.
302 In Sikka the children have the front half of
482 their hair shaved. Here also the women and children usually employ a tumpline.

[527] We had one day in Roworeke as December 27
123 was Independence Day. We left for Badjawa on the latter, after a ceremony. As appears to be usual in Roworeke, which is a most annoying environment with constant requests for jeep rides and a general lack of respect, the kapitan and a large group had to be taken first to kilometer 10 where they had a garden. The kapitan and the kepala kampong pleaded that we come to haul them to Ende for the ceremony tomorrow, but we refused firmly. Today the kepala kampong
[292] wore a woman's felt hat with a chin string.
304 His wife who is pregnant had a tattoo over her arm, but it consisted of a name and random marks. I see this sort of thing everywhere. The old patterns seem to have gone. Today the thing to have tattooed is your name. Then we went back to Roworeke and went to work in the "office" which was full of flies and people.

621 The kampongs in Roworeke are as follows (the
361 area extends from kilometer posts 5 to 8):

1. Nuamere (kilometer 7; the kapitan's area)
2. Bita (across the road, north of Watu Roga)
3. Kopoëdo (inside from Nuamere)
4. Puüdjambu (same)
5. Roworeke Asal (same)
6. Ae Boü (along the road below Nuamere)
7. Ae Utu (along the road below Ae Boü)
8. Wolomere (across the road from Ae Utu; the secretary's area)
9. Tana Ri (kilometer 6)
10. Ndetu (kilometer 5; many Ende folk live here)

1 [i.e., Kennedy and Kattenburg --Analyst]

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are no other obvious signs of pagan religion in the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask about. It looks as though it might have been a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and the stones around it. The photo, of the stone figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double kampong, with two main parts, and it has therefore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
[291] tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes, and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beautifully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge shapes with a common center. There are many adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is because it is easier to fence them in this fashion, but I suspect there is some cosmological significance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle, and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.

1 [See pp. 389-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography cit. 113--Analyst]

Weo

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter, they must be repaid.[1] The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:

582
595
1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We
621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

Weo

784 There is definite totemism here though some
614 clans have no taboos or totem ancestors. But
611 it is the usual thing. Weol may not use one
769 kind of bamboo, because the ancestors were born
562 of this bamboo. Pau may not eat a certain kind of monkey, as the ancestors were linked (this is the assistant's va'u). Women marrying out of the va'u may eat the totem of their own clan but must go through a special rite. Men may never give up the totem taboos, even if they live in an ambil anak arrangement.

574 The next day we went to Weol and up to the
273 kampong with the assistant. We brought native
276 tobacco and gin which we had bought for fl. 2.00
123 in Ruteng. As we entered the kampong, on the right we noted the house of the kepala kampong. Next to it is that of the tuan tanah, where we sat on the front porch. Both of these houses are of the new style, but are sooty because there are no chimneys. The children carried two chairs up from Tjantjar for us and later brought a table from the school. However, the assistant and the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong sat on a mat on the floor. Others were in the background. On the rise in front was a great crowd. We gave gin and tobacco to the old people and
[262] were later served first coffee and then two hard boiled eggs. Others got no eggs. The eggs came by chain-passing from the next kampong, Ndung. Evidently eggs are something special. The old tuan tanah knows everything, and his brother the kepala kampong is old and smart too. The kepala of the third panga of Weol kampong sat in the rear. He too is old.

632 The daluschap Rahong is one of the thirty-
621 nine in Manggarai. The dalu are of Bima origin, or at least this is true of most of them. There are thirty-three kampongs in Rahong. The tuan tanah knows all of them, including the constellations. They are as follows:

Weo

632 1. Weol, with Weol as the center kampong and
621 three branch kampongs. They all trace from Weol. There are three other Weol kampongs in the daluschap Tjibal to the north.

2. Ndung, with Ndung as the center kampong and five branch kampongs. All of them, including Ndung, stemmed originally from Weol. Indeed, the dual kampong Weol-Ndung is the center whence spread out all the kampongs of both Weol
[614] and Ndung. And they evidently were all of the same clan, the va'u Weol. Thus this covers two gelarang districts.

3. Tjumbi, with seven branch kampongs.

4. La'o, with three branch kampongs.

5. Rahong, with seven branch kampongs. But this is a special case as it is the directly governed complex of the dalu. The dalu lives, however, in kampong Waukung, in the gelarang Tjumbi. These kampongs are scattered over the four gelarang into which the daluschap is divided. Thus, in all, there are thirty-three kampongs.

622 There is a tuan tanah in each kampong, but
624 not a kepala kampong in each. See below. The
632 big tuan tanah, the gelarang tuan tanah, are in Weol, La'o, Tjumbi, and Ndung kampongs. I wonder if perhaps, before, these were the district chiefs, that is, before the dalu came in.

Some of the tuan tanah are also kepala kampong. That is, they have two posts. This is so
[565] in about half of the cases, but all kepala kampong are of the tuan tanah "nobility." Thus the kepala kampong of Weol is the brother of the tuan tanah. Thus they have managed to keep even the purely administrative officers in the adat-chiefly families.

The post of tuan tanah goes to the eldest son, but the kepala kampong is chosen by the dalu, after quietly finding out the will of the folk in the kampong.

614 Weol
173 get larger and split. Thus there are many panga in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
178 are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps
the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his
being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan
tanah house the drum house. These drums are
important, as they are used in agricultural
rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in
the kampong here. I hear that there are some in
kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kam-
pong there is a tree (the Weol one died some
time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather
small). Around these trees (the assistant knows
nothing of the significance of the tree) are
placed stones. He says they have no magic power,
but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there
below the tree. In the cleansing of the kam-
178 pong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.
582 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
614 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
[621] within or without the kampong, and the kampong
usually consists of one clan. But even now one
may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is
lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in
special cases one might marry in, for example,
if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there
were other cases too. But since about fifty
years ago endogamous marriages within the clan
have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages
are outside of the clan. The first case of clan
endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of
the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty
yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember
what trouble was caused if any. The assistant
has heard tales of evil following such cases of
endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

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614 of long dead ancestors: Lambar, Rinteng, and Rundu.

784 824 614 The name of the tabooed bamboo of the Weol clan is bamboo belang. It is very thin. The other kinds, for example betong, which is thick, may be cut and used; but this is not so of the belang type. A kind of maize, latung pesi is also tabooed for the members of the Weol clan. But, in this case the taboo is only on the first-born of each family. The first-born is the anak sulung (this is Malay, I think).

632 The present dalu of Rahong lives in the kampong Wankong, in Tjumbi.

621 114 624 I read Coolhaas[1] and checked with his material. There are now two more kampongs in the Weol area since he said thirty-one. Coolhaas is in error in stating that Ladja is the fourth gelarang of Rahong. It is really Ndung. Ladja is a branch kampong of Ndung. The Manggarai

624 824 796 name for tuan tanah is tu'a teno. Teno is the kind of wood used for the lodok, the wooden post which is set in the center of the star of fields for ceremonies. At lodok rites there must be a

[533] [562] drum and a gong. Either sex may play the drum. Some of the beats are the same for the men and for the women, but others differ by sex. Another term for tuan tanah is tu'a lodok.

624 423 651 Everyone must pay some kind of tribute to the tuan tanah. This is for his fields, which are basically the property of the tuan tanah. Even the radja, who has fields in Weol, must pay tribute to the tuan tanah. He must also pay tribute for his house space. This tribute is used to defray the costs of feasts.

614 778 [104] Watu Weol (they pronounce w as v and thus this is more correctly spelled vatu veol) is in kampong Ndung, just above the settled area on the side of the highest hill. It is in the form of a rough human figure, which used to have

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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567 a stage where they were taken into the clan of
565 the master. The slaves who were paid as a tax
114 (taki) to Bima in Reo were not longtime ones,
[651] but newly bought ones. This is because long standing slaves were used to the house and would not run away. If they were sold and then had to be replaced, this would mean breaking in new slaves. Most slaves were owned by nobles, but some rich commoners had them too.

567 The ata lampang, slaves of the sultan or
565 dalu who used to live in separate kampongs,
●621 are now living in mixed kampongs, although there
114 is not much mixture. That is, other people have moved into their kampongs, and they also have moved into other kampongs. It is remembered, however, that they are descendants of slaves. In regard to what Coolhaas[1] says on page 346, he is right about the kind of slaves called sekontu. They were directly under the kraengs of Todo and Pongkor, and had special duties. Their descendants are still numerous in their kampongs: Tengka, Levur, and Levat (i.e., these are the Rahong ones). There has not been much mixture.

567 The mangko' pitu are so called because they
565 are located in seven kampongs. The name means
651 seven cups or dishes. Their duties are to see
621 that rice, etc., are delivered if the kraeng of
114 Todo or Pongkor are on a trip, and also they must provide supplies for law cases on tour. Their kampongs are Tjera, Lerong, Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others. These are now mixed. These kampongs are not under either the dalu or gelarang, but are under the direct rule of Todo and Pongkor (until fifteen years ago). They are now assimilated just about to commoners, but they still remember their descent.

114 Coolhaas[1] is all right on page 348.
601 Coolhaas's[1] kin terms are O.K.:

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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241 five times. Then two men imitate mice and run
782 around, while others pelt them with clods of
231 earth. This part is called mburu pusu. After
624 this weeding can be done.

527 (4) Tege rego, when the crops are ripening. A pig is sacrificed and the people go around the lodok five times. (The tuan tanah always leads the procession of the people who have shares in the garden being rited.)

(5) Tjepa, just before the harvest. Each family concerned gives a pig, rice, etc. If the garden is a lingko randang, a buffalo must be sacrificed. The animals are assembled in the kampong, and the crowd, with one of the pigs, goes to the garden. Each one plucks a stalk and a hair. The pig is killed. Then they go back to the kampong and go around the "adat house" five times and then go inside to dance. Then all the other beasts are killed and the
[195] whipping starts. While harvesting, special words are used for animals and aliens.

776 At all feasts the poti empo are called and
769 the setan are chased. Therefore, the dead are never buried far from the kampong, and perhaps inside the kampong. Thus it is easier to call them. They live at their graves.

124 We talked with the assistant Sunday and then
[524] took him home. (We discovered in Ende later that the bamboo clapping game is also practiced there.) Then we set out for Badjawa, which we reached in the evening. The next morning a lad named Alfons appeared and said that the Radja Kedua had told him to show us the Soa area when we were in Badjawa. He is the former guru agama [religious teacher] and had taught Malay and Ngada to many priests. He is good looking and intelligent and wears leather puttees.

361 Then we went to Soa, but first stopped at a
●621 spectacular kampong named Lekedjere, on the side
614 road to Soa. It is pure Ngada, really a double

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
●621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also
531 set on a mound. Just below this stands the umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nagoh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
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443 basis. They obtain products by purchase in the backland and sell them in Ende. They also sell gewgaws which they bring along with them.

186 829 Interest in local, foreign or international news is at a very low level. They insist that nearly everyone here knows just about nothing in regard to anything outside of the kampong. They are even ignorant of Rewarangga.

614 621 They said that originally each kampong consisted of only one suku. Then others moved in. Thus, at one time Wawatonda was the kampong of suku Rewarangga. Then they came down to Worowai. Here today there is a rumah berhala, [764] but it is a mere bone-grave hut, like Odja in Roworeke.

Rabu is now in three kampongs. It was one at some former time. It is ten kilometers from here. This is the place where the original kampong of the Odja suku was located. But they have now lost contact, and indeed, so complete was the move to Roworeke that probably no Odja folk are left in Rabu today.

24 829 The kapitan said an interesting thing when I was pressing him to give information in this regard. He said that only since I came here had he learned very much about the culture and the past of Rewarangga.

778 614 346 764 These rumah berhala, with images and a real house, or merely with the grave-bone shrines, are suku shrines. There are four real rumah berhala houses in Rewarangga. These are as large as a real old style high roofed house, [753] and in them there are images (ana deo) and per- [782] haps bone bundles too. These run as follows: (and anyone who visits them and looks into them must leave an offering, for example, money or cigarettes, etc.; otherwise he may get sick):

1. Volofeo has a real house and in it there are four ana deo, wooden images. There are no bones. This house was used by all four suku

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538 there are a few who are great story tellers.
533 Some stories are told with singing, i.e., real ballads, and may last as long as two days. The kapitan sang one for a bit, softly. They warmed up and began to appear to be quite proud of these songs. They insist, however that only a few are clever at these things.

[243] They tell such stories when the rice is ripe, and they may sit all night listening. Most of the stories are about the ancestors. Thus it is the free time--rice-ripe period as usual in Indonesia. This is the time for stories, when they have plenty of time. Perhaps this is also true in the post harvest season. Anyway they do have plenty of stories. And it is not only the old people who know them. For example, there is a rather young lad named Ero who is famous for chanting long stories. These sung stories are voi.

621 They are very clear about the location of
423 boundaries in the district, kampong, and sections of the kampongs, as well as in the gardens. Markers are stone posts, trees, streams, etc.

609 There are different grades of being a for-
621 eigner. The crux of the affair seems to be
[563] people who come from other islands. Thus, though the Sikka are outsiders, they are not foreigners to the same extent that the people from Kupang are. It is a bit hard to fit into a kampong if one is an outsider, although it can be done. The Ende papalele in the huts at the lower end of the kampong are still outsiders, although many have been there since the end of the war. They have few relations with the kampong folk, and there have been few if any marriages. The community is closed.

609 I asked about the teachers and found that the
582 Ndona one found it easy for two reasons: He
608 lives in Waturoga, which is in Lio, and also

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609 has a friend-bond with the kampong of Ndona;
582 and he married a Waturoga woman. The Maumere
608 teacher has a somewhat harder time, but he married locally and this helps. (I think he married locally, although I am not sure now.)

632 In the district, the "pusat" kampongs are
624 Roworeke and Worowai. The latter is the older
●621 and the kampong of the real prime suku, that
778 of the oldest of the original brothers, Rewarangga. There live three of the Big Four (mosa laki mere, ndetu au, and sikesani), and it is thus a sort of adat center. Roworeke is newer, and it is the administrative center, where the kapitan lives. Here also, however, is the big giri tumba. Formerly, these two were one kampong. In the kampong, the section or hamlet Roworeke Asal is the oldest, and there the grave-bone shrine of the Odja suku is located. It is the adat center. There also is the tubu musu. Nuamere means the big village, and this hamlet is where the kapitan lives. Thus it is the administrative center. Still, the ata nggaëh nua, the adat kepala kampong (Bapa Metjil) and his adi, the administrative kepala kampong, live in Ae Utu (I think).

361 The present Nuamere was newly established
621 here in 1907. There had been a previous ham-
632 let Nuamere up the hill. The Dutch, however,
[648] as usual made most of the hamlets move down to the road. Thus there is a general pattern here that in each district there is a kind of original kampong, and in each kampong there is a sort of original hamlet. But it is not a constellation arrangement as in Toradja country, where all the kampongs and hamlets spread out from the center like a star. This is truer of the kampongs than of the districts, because the latter here are coming to be more and more a coming together of independent kampongs, some old and some younger. Thus

R

621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

621 The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
832 meente are:

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamië
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better, and the folklore concerning them is fantastic. They are reckoned with and theoretically exchanged when they don't even exist. They keep the marriage system going. They are parallel to pure paper credit--something like international balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2) Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tandjung Bunga (and the folk there call the people of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e., mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

621 173 We call the people from the Blakang Gunung region "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 721 346 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 621 173 829 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The assistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen, Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

War The Demon or

614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
●621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Bewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how everything here falls into a system. He has learned
124 the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

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goat; and buffalo?). During other months they may eat such food. This figures out to be roughly about one half of the year. Some of the ama have no nu'a luka, for example, Ama Rere. Indeed, Roy says they must not be too strict about this system because there are plenty of holes in the ideal scheme. As we were finishing up the work he got a note telling him to meet the Radja at the kakang's house for a conference. Evidently he is becoming a big man here. We are perhaps partly responsible.

He is making a map, and his daughter, who goes to the nun's school in Larantuka, is doing the drawing.

The next morning, Sunday, we went back, and arrived while church services were being held. They expected the Radja to visit today, so they had removed a section of the fence to let his car in. He never showed up, which was a disappointment to them, as they were all waiting around. The name of the section of Wailolong where we saw the rite yesterday is Apukule(ng).

We asked about the bonds of friendship and enemy relations here. It is clear that seven of the kampongs are always friendly, and are never at war with one another. The eighth, Riang Kamië, has been the traditional enemy of each of them in turn. They are all descendants of Lenurat, whereas the folk of Rian Kamië are descended mainly from Kroko Putang folk, mixed in with some Sina Djawa. Most enmity against Riang Kamië has been, as usual, by kampongs bordering Riang Kamië. Always, border wars are the most frequent here. Thus, Leloba, Wailolong, and Lewohala are involved. The traditional enemy kampong is Lewowitin. The others are brothers, just as in fact or legend their founders were.

The main causes of wars were, in order:

War

578 land disputes, head-hunting, and women. Or
721 perhaps the latter two should be reversed.
Another cause was molesting a child if done
by a neighboring kampong. There were also
radja wars, in which the people served, but
this was involved in high politics. Finally,
there were also the early wars against the ab-
origines, the Padji folk.

721 The reasons for head-hunting were linked
346 with the new korke (this is still a reason for
796 the largest feast, when all kampongs come to-
782 gether. Nowadays, the feast for the new church
takes over this function). When a new korke is
built, if the six posts do not fit into the
rafter posts, it is a sign that the posts are
not happy because they are in need of food, so
they are pledged food. Formerly the people
then went out and got a head and hung it in
the korke. Then everything was all right.
Note that nowadays at such rites they give food
to the posts. For example, yesterday they
smeared rice on the four barn posts. The korke
must have six posts.

346 The korke was the center of the war cult and
769 the ghost cult (ancestor cult). The barns were
343 the center of the agricultural cult. The little
241 kebang (barn) of the suku and the ama is called
sebua.[1]

582 Relations between villages are kept up by
621 marriages. In fact, they are almost the sole
602 reason for such relations. This shows that
genealogical relationship is nearly everything
here. It shows also why descent is the basis
for the whole organization of power, etc., and
why marriage rules are so complex and strongly
held to. There have even been marriage rela-
tions with Riang Kanië, although they have not
been too pronounced.

476 Another reason for relations with other com-
582 munities is work. That is, there is mutual aid
602
621

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 202 -- Analyst]

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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578 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
●621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
773 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

War

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

693 614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

609 belebang. It means "not known," in the sense of being a stranger. In the case of whites, etc., this is very clear. In dealing with other Indonesians, they know the people in their own kampong so well that they can spot a stranger immediately. They can spot this also because of his clothes and hairdo. Thus as we rode along today we were asked to stop by the guru. He said that there was a Tandjung Bunga man whom he had spotted. He was a tall pagan with a long bob and wearing red beads. He was fine looking. He could be identified as a Tandjung Bunga man even in the way he walked. And if he speaks, one can tell immediately. This is especially true here, where the phonetics are hard, even for the Larantuka folk. [194] The Radja has a hard time getting the sounds right. I asked whether the pastor was belebang, and they said that they were so used to him that he was not considered such. It is a matter of use and acceptance.

173 There is, of course, a long story connected with the cosmological meaning of the social ●621 organization. There seems to be a vague ranking 595 according to the relative age of the brothers who founded the kampongs. Leloba was the oldest brother, Wailolong the second oldest, etc., and Watuwiti was the youngest. But this is not strictly the case. Nevertheless, if they have a great rite for the building of a new korke in a kampong when all kampongs gather and animals are cut, the head, feet, cutting and betel passing functions show something in regard to rank. He is uncertain as to the ranking and functions involved, but will try to find out more about this.

This led to a long story without much point to it except that it told about the negri lama and the migrations of the brothers outward. The story starts with the oldest negri lama,

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173 which was inhabited after the Lenurat days.
●621 This was Bluhur, near Watuwiti. The place is
565 still there, and whenever a kampong has a new korke feast, they must go there too and sacrifice an animal. While the five brothers were still living in Bluhur, there was a war against the Padji aborigines in Adonara. The Demon folk there called on the Ili Djadi to help, and the five brothers went. The first brother, Belawaburak, was killed there in battle. The other four asked the Demon folk for an indemnity, and they paid this in gold (lots of it). This money was to replace the lost one. The four brothers were still together, and had only one korke. Nowadays no one lives there, but if a new korke feast is held, they must go there and sacrifice an animal. This was eighteen generations ago. Thus it was perhaps five to six hundred years ago, or perhaps a bit less.

Then came a war against the Padji, who lived all over the present territory around Ili Mandiri. They tried to drive them out. There was some fuss over a deceitful trick played by the Padji, in which the Ili folk gave their gold in good faith to the Padji, but the latter cheated. They decided they could stand these folk no longer, and so they went to war. Keweluk, the second brother, stayed in Bluhur, handling administrative things, and the other three brothers went to war. There were ten Padji kampongs. The Ili folk won, and killed one of the women at once, and brought the head back to Bluhur. But evidently, after some further grievances, they went to war against the Padji again. This time they captured the two main war leaders of the Padji, and afterwards, as usual, they killed one and brought the other back to Bluhur. This time, Bampowa had remained behind to do the administrative work. Instead of killing the

War

173 war leader of Padji, they stripped the skin off
●621 his face and body and arms, and rubbed salt and
565 pepper into his raw flesh, and then instructed him to go to all the ten Padji kampongs in turn and destroy their korke one by one. Under a magic spell, he did as he was told, and as he knocked over the last korke, he fell dead. The Padji, afraid of the magic power of the Ili folk, decided to sail away. Some were still left, however. I think these were on the beach on the way to Larantuka town. Then the four brothers set fire to the grass and bamboo thickets, and the latter burst with loud booms all the way from Larantuka to Konga. (Perhaps this is a rationalization for the agricultural burning off of fields which has evidently denuded the area here. Although I thought perhaps they might have thought that the Padji hunters would have lost their hunting lands by this kind of burning off of the forest cover and this would be why they would have to get out, they said that the Padji were already good agricultural folk and in fact that the Ili people had first learned agricultural techniques from the Padji. Hence this theory looks bad.)

Anyway, the last remaining Padji, scared stiff, went off. There are no Padji left here. Then a fight started between the second and third brothers, Keweluk and Kewaka. (The "enemy-brother" theme.) The former wanted to marry the widow of the deceased eldest brother, Belawa-burak, but the latter became angry because he wanted her for himself. The latter won the fight and married the widow, Ninidadja. Keweluk ran off to a place near Wailolong (in Wailolong territory, but far away) named Lewokeda', and there founded a kampong. This was the start of
[171] the bertjerebre, or separation (note the similarity with the watu mpoga'a, or stone of separation of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).

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173 tion, of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).
● 621 Then Bampowa went away and founded Mudakaputu
565 (after some previous moves); and Mado, the youngest brother, after a number of moves, went and founded Watuwiti. Kewaka, already in power in Tiwa, moved his kampong to Lewohala. Thus occurred the arrangement whereby Keweluk was the founder of Wailolong, Kewaka the founder of Lewohala (from which Lewoneda later branched off), Bampowa was the founder of Mudakaputu, and Mado the founder of Watuwiti. I am not clear as to how Belawaburak is linked with Leloba, but evidently his descendants went there and founded it.

Somewhere in all of this material is a kind of local glorification for all of the kampongs and perhaps a kind of ranking. The latter, however, is very unclear and it would seem that the fame of the brothers and their "functions" in the legend were something like this:

Belawaburak was a war hero and his death brought a great store of gold to the Bai Pitu.

Keweluk was a war leader, and at one phase was an administrative leader too. The latter was during the second Padji war.

Kewaka was a war leader and also won the fight with Keweluk. He also married the widow of Belawaburak.

Bampowa was first a war leader, but stayed home in the last Padji war and did administrative work. This gave him a real privileged hold on administration, and his kampong, Mudakaputu, was for a long time the holder of the kakang post here. Recently other kampongs have had the post. Today Leloba has it.

Mado, founder of Watuwiti, seems to have the least claim to fame, and he was the youngest brother. Something is said, however, about how [789] Watuwiti folk are famous for making "medicine" which can make men mad, or rather silly. This

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173 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps
621 Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the
565 magic stuff which in the last analysis scared
789 the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 The only exchange here is that connected
614 with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 As a result of the last World War the hori-
[178] zons in terms of the world at large were somewhat extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

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	Male	Female	
Watuwiti	127	124	
Mudakaputu	128	123	
Laneda	143	167	
Riang Kanale	107	114	
Lewohala	286	285	
Riang Kamië	430	427	
Wailolong	290	288	
Leloba	272	298	
Totals	1783	1823	3606

The Christians then totaled 1973.

Ili Mandiri is at an elevation of 1501 meters, the highest around here.

Wailolong intermarries with all of the other seven kampongs, a bit more with those which are near than with those which are farther away. During the period after the Dutch entered (1912) there were practically no marriages with Leloba, because Wailolong was sore that Roy's father would not fight the Dutch. (The present enmity of Roy against the Dutch may be delayed reaction to this.) Since then, there has been more intermarriage, but extra-kampong marriage is relatively rare. Roy estimates that not more than ten per cent of the cases are extra-kampong marriages. This holds for both sexes.

If a man lives matrilocally (which is optional if no bride price is paid, or if the bride price is paid only in part), he keeps the privileges he has in his own kampong, but he works for his food with his father-in-law in the latter's kampong.

If the bride price is not paid, he may live in either kampong, and this is merely something which has to be agreed upon. Roy says that about half of such marriages follow patrilocal residence and about half matrilocal residence.

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611 However, all children are descended patrilineally.
583 That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any
614 case, the bride price must be paid eventually.
591 It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 There are some marriages between Wailolong
●621 and other districts. Roy can think of cases
614 with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the
582 pattern area. What usually happens, however, is
584 that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

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582 584 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when [583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 •621 Roy says that he believes that if more people traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very [484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

[609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582 178 The average marriage age used to be older. It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

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585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
●621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speak-
836 ing. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would

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000 of and pride in the legends and old things. One
●621 further matter I asked about was from my notes. He said it is true that there were five po. They called the po (meaning "radja's army") suku lema ("5"). They were Waibalun, Balela, Lewolere, Larantuka, and Labao. Lewerang was absorbed, but it is still a place name near Larantuka town. Lokea was the radja's own kampong. Lohayong was the radja kedua's kampong. All this seemed to me a bit vague, and he has clearly forgotten much of this. He went on to say that aside from the Radja, there were indeed three "big kepala": of Balela, Larantuka, and Waibalun (thus three of the po are accounted for). The kepala of Larantuka is Meo Fernandez, a descendant of people coming from Malaya. Thus this bit of information about the Malaya folk gets a bit tied. But the whole thing is not clear to me. Maybe I can work something out
[114] from the sources, but I notice that Wouden, who cites all of this, is also vague, and complains about the inadequate source material.[2]

Roy said that in addition to the five po there were seven riang in Larantuka town: Ponsiri, Pantei Besar, Kota Riang Wido, Tabali, Gege, Kampong Tengah, and Kota Sau.

There were thus, in Larantuka town (or district perhaps?): seven riang, five po, Lokea, and Lewohayong.

This is the best I can do. Perhaps this includes all the communities in the area in front of the mountain ("Muka Gunung"). And behind the mountain are the eight kampongs of the area, under the kakang of Mudakaputu. Roy said there are either ten or eleven kakang in the Larantuka radjadom. I can check this from Seegeler.[3]

I left Larantuka on Friday, January 20, and after a day's run I got to Ende. I didn't stop, but wondered if perhaps they have a rumah berhala in most of the Lio kampongs.

[1 i.e., Roy, the assistant -- Analyst]
[2 See p. 97 of van Wouden as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]; [3 i.e. former Controleur -- Analyst]

567 said that this was true in Ruteng town especially. I get the definite impression that there is a lot hidden under this slave secrecy, the kind of evidence that seeps out when I ask about the dalu and kraeng. These folk have had a hard time, and were not liberated from Bima, which ruled with a hard hand, until relatively late. They are still, I think, under the dalu and the kraeng a lot.

567 621 565 He said that there are kampongs where all the inhabitants, though originally commoners (and note the difference between the "gelarang kampongs" and the "leke kampongs" below), were made into virtual slaves by the sultan and the dalu. These were the ata lampang, and their kampongs were called the "lampang kampongs." In Rahong they were Adjang, Limpong, Teras, Pokka, Kina, Ketok, and Lenteng. Here the people are all of this background, except for a few newcomers, and they are not ashamed to tell it. And nowadays they marry with other commoners and even with gelarang (although the assistant later grimaced when he said that he wouldn't want his family to marry certain people). The main areas for this kind of kampong were and are Todo, Pongkor, and here in Rahong.

Then there are kampongs nearly all of whose population is descended from commoners who were sekontu, i.e., virtual slaves of the kraeng of Todo and Pongkor. In Rahong these kampongs are Tengka, Levur, and Levat. And there has not been much mixture yet. The folk there are not ashamed to tell about it, as everyone knows, and everyone in the kampong is in the same boat. They too now intermarry quite a bit.

The mangko' pitu kampongs were under direct rule of Todo and Pongkor until about fifteen years ago, and these, although not exactly slaves, were like servants of the kraeng and had to render supplies to them when they came

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621 there. They remember their descent vividly.
567 These include, in Rahong: Tjera, Lerong,
565 Se'ing, Ngadjok, and three others.

Thus it turns out that the "slave class" people were located largely in separate kampongs. But there were other slaves too. The lampang-sekontu type were commoners who were enslaved en masse, but there were the mendi too, who were either bought or captured in war. These were located in many kampongs, and were owned by nobles, gelarang, and even rich commoners. These were the ones who had to be paid (some of them) as a form of tax to Bima. These are probably the ones who would be most sensitive today, or rather their descendants would be. But the chances are that the lampang who no longer live in the separate kampongs are also sensitive. Thus I note that there are people from Teras, Tjera, etc. living in Veol or Ndung now, either married in or by some other means. They probably would get angry if this matter were brought up. He imitated the reaction that one might expect to such an insult. He looked very fierce. This shows that the fear is quite real. I suppose they might even kill him if he asked too much.

Cornelius[1] says many slaves were made so by the dalu or kraeng on one pretext or another. Thus a man might ride past a noble's house with bells on his horse. The noble would say that he was insulting him and hence enslave him and his family. If this really happened, and he gave it as a circumstantial kind of case, this was a land of real oppression until recently.

178 He says that up until twenty or even fifteen
567 years ago there were heavy duties on the lampang,
565 and this was long after the Dutch came in. Only fifteen years ago everyone was open about the slave stuff. This is thus a place where there has been very rapid change: the covering up of

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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567 178 565 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like services.

The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] 565 614 567 In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius says the people here regard them as aliens (as indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here).

[173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 567 621 614 (1) There are kampongs in which all the "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example, kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.

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565 For example, they may have been bought or cap-
567 tured in war. In regard to the latter possi-
621 bility, a kraeng who came from Pongkor and who
[614] now lives in Tjantjar and who was standing by during all this with his father, said that there were plenty of wars between the kampongs here formerly, and the kraeng and dalu had to control this. Bima put in the dalu, he says,
[771] for this end.

(2) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundren per cent descended from commoners (leke) who were made lampang en masse by the kraeng. That is, they are kampongs which were made up of commoners before, and which were depressed to the lampang status. In these, very few of the people are from the outside.

(3) There are kampongs which are nearly one hundred per cent descended from sekontu. These were originally commoners (leke) but were made into slaves en masse by the kraeng. Evidently the lampang and the sekontu, as well as the mangko' pitu, might have been made thus by the sultan, dalu, or kraeng. Indeed, the three seemed to work together, and the dalu are called kraeng too.

(4) There are kampongs which are just about one hundred per cent kraeng, for example Puruk here, and Pongkor and Todo. These are still in the golarang Rahong here, that is, under the direct control of the dalu. There are eight of them, including Puruk. The assistant says the kraeng prefer to get out of these, as in them they are nobles among nobles, but in other kampongs they can play on their status and the folk have to give them respect. Formerly they gave them more evidently. He says that up to the present time they still receive various forms of respect. Indeed, the kraeng who was here said so too.

The mangko' pitu were directly under Todo and

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621 Pongkor until perhaps fifteen years ago, and
565 the kraeng kampongs are still directly under
567 the dalu. It seems that the ata lampang kampongs were under the dalu formerly too, but maybe they were merely slave kampongs under local rulers. The sekontu were indeed directly under Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps the picture was: under the dalu, the kraeng and the lampang kampongs; under Todo and Pongkor, the sekontu and mangko' pitu kampongs.

(5) There are kampongs which are about one hundred per cent of the dalu class. These are evidently the "capitals" of the dalu, for example, Rahong kampong.

567 Cornelius[1] says again that in his time, at
565 the most twenty years ago, there were still
624 plenty of slaves, and the Dutch hit this system
423 hard in order to get them out. Evidently the
[177] real mendi, the bought or captured ones, were merged first (as the slave trade and war were forced out), but the lampang type persisted until very recently. He later told me how much the lampang had to give in tribute to the kraeng. This links with what the kraeng (who was from Pongkor and a very soft spoken lad) who is now in Tjantjar said. He said that the kraeng had and have the right to settle and get land in any kampong. He has gotten land here. But they have to ask the consent of the tuan tanah first and have to pay the regular tribute to the tuan tanah. But the permission is not refused. I asked if they could take a lot of land, and he said no, that they had to be reasonable.

621 He said, the Todo and the Pongkor rulers (and
565 the dalu too, evidently) also placed kraeng in
661 the kampongs to keep order (as so many wars were held that the folk would let them judge the cases, although they were not really administrative men, but rather prestigeful men) and to act as spies of the Todo and Pongkor rulers

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

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621 and of the dalu. (Later the assistant said that
565 they were spies all right; they checked to see
661 that the lampang didn't chisel on tribute and paid the proper share of produce to Todo, Pongkor, and the dalu. The assistant said they had to pay plenty.

567 Thus there has been a very rapid change here,
178 in the disappearance of the slaves as a class. And the recency may explain some of the sensitivity. These folk are just trying to make their way into full freedom and won't be held back.

565 When I first started on this, the kraeng, whose identity I didn't know as he was just dressed in shorts and was very unimpressive, said that all men were equal now! Then he went on to say that the kampong folk gave respect to the kraeng.

621 Possibly three hundred years ago there were
565 only two sorts of kampongs (see Coolhaas;[1] had the dalu in the eighteenth century). The dalu were not in yet then. The two sorts were: the ones where most of the population was gelarang (for example, Veol), and the ones where most of the population were commoners (for example, Adjang, which later became lampang). I asked whether any of the gelarang kampongs were made lampang, and the assistant said that he thought not, as the kraeng had to keep the native nobles in in order to keep things going (indirect rule!).

Cornelius[2] says that he does not know whence came the dalu or what the situation was before they came in. Evidently the Todo and Pongkor kraeng were conquerors and rulers here before the dalu came in (see Coolhaas)? It looks as
[177] though the dalu were put in by the Bima administration.

567 In regard to the recency of slavery here, note that the Sarasins[3] in 1902 or thereabouts

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst] [2] [i.e., the assistant -- Analyst] [3] [See 2:Kennedy, OBl Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 242 -- Analyst]

saw hundreds of Toradjas being brought into Palopo as slaves by the Buginese.

If it is so that the dalu were put in by the Bima administration, perhaps originally there might have been only the gelarang, the tuan tanah that is, and the commoners. Maybe the latter were aborigines, and the first conquest brought in the gelarang class. But this seems unlikely, as the gelarang tuan tanah class looks very ancient here. (For example, the Veol clan ancestors came out of bamboo right at the Veol spring.) Anyway, some clans seemed to be higher and others lower, perhaps as in Lio, where some are of the tuan tanah rank and others are not, or like the situation in Ende, where some have mosa laki and others do not. Long ago, and the assistant says perhaps three hundred years, the kraeng came in from Todo and Pongkor. Perhaps they were Minangkabau who came in through Makassar. They say so. But they have no matrilineal system so far as I know, and they have the va'u system like all the people in Manggarai. And the language is the same. However, I asked the assistant if I was right in that the kraeng had a different accent, and he said yes, but this may be a mere local difference.

The assistant says that he knows the legends say that the dalu came from outside somewhere. But their names are Manggarai, and they have the va'u system too. Question: are they Todo-Pongkor kraeng who were elevated, some of them, to the dalu status by Bima. Are they Bimanese in origin? Are they gelarang who were elevated by Bima? It is certain that Bima put them in. I would favor the first explanation, but am bothered by the fact that some kampongs were under dalu and others under Todo and Pongkor kraeng. It looks as though they had a double rule here above the gelarang level, which was

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565 the old adat:
621 (1) The dalu rule, centering on Bima.
174 (2) The kraeng rule, centering on Todo and
177 Pongkor.

177 Thus the locals may have been merely under a
565 double rule, and the actual supremacy of Todo-
621 Pongkor or Bima was never really resolved. It
634 may be that it was like the Madjapahit situa-
[174] tion in outlying areas: the local princes were partly to a largely degree independent and oppressed the locals (the Todo-Pongkor ones here), and the proconsuls of the central government got what they could for the sultan (the dalu). The question remains, whence the dalu? And I must find out whether the dalu family trees are the same as those of the kraeng. Note, incidentally, that the radja is of the Todo kraeng.

It may be that there is a strange unassimilation of rule here. There is the radja, whose supporters would be the kraeng scattered all over (and I heard the first day that "there are a few kraeng of the radja's family now in Tjantjar; they have gotten land there." I wrote at the time: "Any story here?" There seems to be
[578] one. Now comes the question whether the dalu work with the radja, or are still a bit independent, as sort of survivals of the Bima days (and the Dutch days that replaced Bima)? And what of the gelarang? Are they more for the radja or for the dalu? Or are there no tensions at all?

578 I remember that the Radja when he was a bit
634 drunk during the feast told us that he would
565 advise us and tell us of possible dangers, etc. My guess is that all is not peaceful and happy here. Why? There seems to be no real exploitation any more, but perhaps there is a remembered resentment against the kraeng. And the mandur said that the Radja was not really Manggarai,

565 614 (3) There are one hundred per cent kraeng va'u, e.g., Puruk.

(4) There are one hundred per cent dalu va'u, e.g., Rahong.

(5) There is a radja va'u, of kraeng rang, i.e., Todo.

174 The history may be something like this:

621 565 634 648 (1) Originally, and until about three hundred years ago: the gelarang tuan tanah district chiefs were in, with kampong ramifications.

(2) About three hundred years ago until 1900: the period of Todo-Pongkor kraeng conquest, with also some Makassarese rule from the north (Goa) and Bima rule also.

(3) 1909--1929: Dutch rule without radja.

(4) 1929--1941: Dutch rule with radja.

(5) 1941--1949: Japanese, and later Dutch influence, the latter putting in the East Indonesian negara.

(6) 1949-- : The new Indonesia, with the Dutch gone, but the radja still here, as well as the dalu and the kraeng.

The only real power still alien in this area is that of the Todo-Pongkor kraeng (radja). What will happen?

582 614 I checked over the marriages in Veol and Ndung, but the assistant will get the va'u of the inmarrying women. However, it looks as though there is no pattern. Looking only at the kampongs whence the inmarriers came, I can find just about no system; the twenty-seven women who married men of Veol came from twenty different kampongs (highest frequency was three). The four men who married women of Veol and came here to live are from three kampongs (highest frequency two).

The twenty-nine women who married men of Ndung came from twenty kampongs (highest frequency four: Tjumbi; another three: Tjara).

The nine men who married women of Ndung and

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614 ask; and (3) the latung pesi corn: this is
784 true of the firstborn only (I will ask about
773 this too).

Note the firstborn theme here too. This is also found in Sikka totemism. The Pau va'u
[764] has only one taboo aside from the custom that the stone must not be used for anything, and it is that the members must be buried naked. The story is that once, when the dead were still dressed, a child was ordered to get clothes for a dead person. The child refused, and an old man who was angry said, "All right, from now on our descendants cannot be buried in clothes." It is a kind of curse.

Manong taboos are mice and dogs. They cannot be eaten. I don't know the story, but I can ask the assistant's wife. Now, however, the assistant's wife can eat these, because she has married out. But she has taken on a taboo (tjek'i) of Pau and will be buried naked. He asks, "What about the Catholics?" I said there was no trouble, I thought, because there is no rule in the Church that a person must be buried with clothes on! Each taboo has a story of rationalization behind it. Usually there are two or three taboos per va'u.

[262] I found out that cats are eaten here.

These kampongs have long since been separate,
● 621 but once they were one. There was a man named
[361] Pong Ndung who came from Veol, but didn't want to live in the kampong, so he moved down to lower land and settled under a tree. The Veol people got angry and asked him to come back, and he said all right, but moved only into the present Ndung area, which was then vacant. He thus founded the new kampong, and since then it has been called Ndung.

Before 1870 to 1880 they had only kampongs and va'u. Then, under Bima, came in the dalu and gelarang divisions. The line between gela-

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621 rang Veol was run between the two kampongs. This was because if it had included in the Veol gelarang all the kampongs inhabited by va'u Veol, it would have been very large. And Bima wanted to have as many gelarang as possible, because thus a greater tax yield was made certain.

342 592 656 178 Fifty years ago all houses were round. There were three of them, two in Veol and one in Ndung. These houses were about two times as large as the present round ones, that is, about twenty meters in diameter rather than about twelve meters in diameter. In one such house there might live up to three hundred people!

The assistant until about five years of age lived in a house in Pau with three hundred people. There were only two in the Pau kampong, one for each of the two va'u there. Then, in 1926, came a law stating that not more than three families could be housed in a single dwelling. It took some time before the houses became smaller.

In 1927, came a law stating that all houses had to be rectangular, not round (the paternalistic Dutch!). The people were willing to make their houses smaller, but they refused to make them rectangular. Also, they didn't know how to build a rectangular house. They had to call in specialists, carpenters. It is notable here that a really complex style of building, the round house type, was known to the primitive folk, but not the simpler rectangular type! Anyway, the law about having to build rectangular houses was rescinded after three hopeless years. Since then, houses until very recently were mostly round but smaller.

342 178 The next change was to have low walls on round houses, and also they began to use nails (I noticed that in the new rectangular house

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166 578 affect mainly the younger branches of panga. The older ones are too important to leave.

[592] Most of the people who leave go as households, except for the men who marry out.

166 574 621 527 Those who leave never come back, as far as the assistant knows, but there have been returnees in other kampongs. They do come back, however, for the big feasts in the mother kampong. There are five kinds of festive returnees: (1) for kampongs in the gelarang Veol, all must come to Veol for the big feast, and so must Veol go to the tjabang kampong feasts. (2) for kampongs in the dalu Rahong, but in other gelarang, if there is a big feast, a delegation must be sent to the mother kampong, and vice versa. These kampongs have their own tuan tanah in the new Veol kampongs, whereas type (1) kampongs have only a tjabang tuan tanah. (3a) For kampongs outside the dalu Rahong, they may come if they want to, but they need not do so, and vice versa. They have their own tuan tanah. (3b) Isolated Veol families which live in kampongs among other va'u always come back, as otherwise there is no ritual life for them in relation to the ancestors, etc. (4) The Ndung and Veol folk, because they are nearby and of the same va'u, always come to each other's big feasts. (5) The Ndung area kampongs (Ndung gelarang) come to the Ndung feasts. Any of them may come to the Veol feasts too, and vice versa. The pattern in the gelarang Ndung is not so complex, as it is actually a branch of Veol.

527 574 756 The big feasts so treated are: (1) "New Year" which comes in November or December. It is not on any set day, but takes place when the gardens are all set and growing. The work is then over; (2) the building of a tuan tanah house; (3) a "buffalo feast," i.e., a cleansing of the kampong, a time decided by one of mbako, who decides that

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565 624 167 174 Pongkor. The whole thing is in the dark. I must check Coolhaas at length. The names of the dalu are all Manggarai, and simple. The Radja merely has a Manggarai name.

166 621 614 The newcomers in the kampongs here are no cause for worry, because the original kampong dwellers keep control, no matter how many newcomers there are and how few of them are left. There is a kampong where there are only three old households left, and there are about forty outside households. The three keep control.

Those who have come into the kampongs here comprise both unmarried and married folk. The [567] former all marry in. Some of the present folk who are named as of va'u Veol may well be of slave origin. Slaves were taken into the va'u of their owners. Everyone in the kampong knows which families in the va'u are of slave origin, but they will not tell outsiders. It is certain that the slaves are among the va'u Veol folk, if any.

Usually newcomers have relatives within the kampong, and this is the way so many Tjumbi entered. These relatives form an opening wedge, and others follow. This is like immigration in the United States.

Very few come into the kampong and then leave. The only case is the Tjepang clan. It entered long ago and left about twenty years ago for Tjantjar, en masse. This happens often. A clan enters and increases so much, while the original clan also increases in size, that in the end the original clan says that the immi- [624] grant clan must move. Then the other clan is given a gong-gendang, one of them becomes the tuan tanah of the branch kampong, and off they go. This is what happened in the case of Tjantjar.

624 [614] The man who becomes the branch tuan tanah is the tuan panga of the clan. He gets the gong-

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484 166 In the Japanese time trips were made to seek cloth, etc., but now this is done to a lesser degree, and the people never leave Manggarai although there is quite a bit of movement [438] within the area. The people who do this moving are the men who buy and sell horses, tobacco, etc. If they are away for long or at some distance, there is a feast when they return. The four who have left the area have not yet returned. When they do there will be a great gathering to hear their experiences. The assistant has seen this happen in Pau. Formerly there were no relations really with even nearby places like Tjumbi, except for marriages, and if they went to war in the dalu's army, or had internal wars, (which were rare). Nowadays there are many more relations within Manggarai. [621] In the rituals the only environs mentioned are the environs of the kampong. This comprises the ritual world and the social world of yore.

484 178 492 166 [609] Today they travel more than they did before, but still they do not go very far. Formerly any outsider was fair game for robbery and murder. Thus they were afraid to go afar. There is little in the way of transportation here. Also, the kampong is a bit too far from Ruteng to make regular trips back and forth easy. However, the horses make Manggarai people greater travelers than, for example, the inhabitants of Larantuka. Every household has [422] at least one to two horses. They are a big thing here, and now I see why I got the impression at once that there is more internal movement here than in most of the Flores areas. It is the horses. The people are fine riders, and the horses, although small, are fast and [562] spirited. Women used to mount carefully and the horse on which they rode was led. Now they jump on and gallop off (still, I don't see many women riding horses).

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621 614 554 There is certainly no feeling of inferiority concerning the status of the village. Still, the gelarang kampongs feel a bit superior to the former slave ones, for example, sekontu and lampang. They look down a bit on Tjantjar, as it is not of the Veol va'u. But the branch kampongs which are of the va'u Veol are as good as the central kampong. Thus Ndung is just as good as Veol, and so is, for example, Sampar. They are original people too. Thus the blood bond comes first. As for outsiders who live in the kampong, if they get angry they may throw this up. For example, the assistant said it might happen to him.

614 621 602 He also said that no matter how long a person is away, no matter how many generations intervene, he and his descendants are still Pau people and go there as often as possible; that is, unless the case involves people who have been established as real members of an independent clan kampong elsewhere. However, they still remember the real, old ancestral kampong.

As yet there have been no returning villagers to tell anything about the outside world.

In inter-community relations the important thing is the blood bond. The va'u comes first, and then the kampongs or clans or families with many marriage bonds. Thus it is mainly genealogical. The gelarang is important, as generally all the kampongs in a gelarang are of one va'u. The only exception here is the unusual Tjepang kampong. Tjantjar and other kampongs here have many marriage relations with it. Ndung is close in all ways.

[622] Thus the gelarang is just about the same as a "clan district," and the tuan tanah in the central kampong is the head, and the other tuan tanah are branch-offs from him.

Beyond the va'u there are nearly no real relationships, except for the areas where va'u

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621 are established or where the people have mar-
614 riage relations. The dalu area is quite
602 secondary, as it is not genealogical. There are, e.g., three Veol kampongs in the dalu Tjibal, and these are closer than the other non-Veol kampongs nearer in distance or others in the same dalu but of a different va'u. Even though a family has lived for a long time in another kampong and has few close acquaintances any more in the old kampong, the bond is still closer than with the neighbors in the kampong
[571] of residence. This shows that residence is less important here than blood. Still, as propinquity makes for marriages, there is a tendency for a family to establish new marriage relations in the place of residence. Thus it is either the consanguineal or the affinal group that counts, in order.

There are no relations at all with other tribes or places.

[648] The Dutch stopped the wars. They say that
721 if there were no police now they would have wars
614 again soon.
578 When a war comes all the va'u kampongs help. They could also call on the vina-rona families, i.e., the affinal relatives. These might refuse, however.

Once there was a war between two places (and usually wars were thus along va'u lines, except for the dalu wars), and everlasting enmity remained between these two places. Thus the wars were va'u against va'u and dalu against dalu, not kampong against kampong, although they might start that way. And in this area, most of the wars were dalu wars. Some wars were dalu or even a va'u against Bima, and there might be quite an alliance against Bima. Once in awhile Bima lost. On the border there were many wars against Ngada.

Some dalu here fought against Todo and Pong-

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721 578 614 were traditional enmities to some extent between dalu. For example, Ruteng was against Tjibal. Rahong usually helped Ruteng. Tjibal had allies too.

When there was a Todo war against Pongkor, the dalu here often entered, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other.

There are plenty of stories about the old wars. Thus there is the Prang Kuvu (that was against the Dutch near here); Prang Lait (against Bima, at a place near here); Prang Vake (Pongkor against Todo, and the dalus here entered), etc.

621 614 602 [423] There are definite borders here, and the people are quite sensitive about them. These exist between the dalu, gelarang, and kampongs. They are marked by stones, mountains, rivers, etc.

In every gelarang there is a central kampong, for example, Veol and branches. Only one va'u per gelarang is the original va'u. There can't be two. Each dalu has kampongs under direct dalu rule. Some dalu (e.g., Rahong) had kampongs directly under Todo or Pongkor. Aside from the va'u relations, the vina-rona (mother's brother's daughter or affinal) relationship is important. In this mutual help is expected. Thus the pattern of one's own clan and the clan of affinity (and, I suppose, by extension this, could work out to a circle of the Wouden type)[1] is found here.

614 582 However, I get nowhere with the regular marriage class system here. Nevertheless, the old tuan tanah said that there was a preferred clan, Mungges. It does not show in the record of the marriages, however. He will get the clans of the women for me.

756 789 Note: he misunderstood the "magic" here, and says that the mbako could and can make a drink or amulet, etc., to make a man strong, and such is used in war.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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000 and such is used in war.

Correction: When there is a big feast in the
621 central kampong, all members of the tjabang
574 kampongs must attend. However, if a big feast
171 is held at a tjabang kampong, it is a matter of choice whether the other tjabang kampongs and the pusat kampong attend. However, each must send a delegation. (This is like the big feasts in the Ambon pela kampongs. The pela radja and saniri must go, and others may do so if they want to.)

621 It is true that the pusat kampong has more
622 power in a way than the others. Its drums,
346 gongs, tjompang, main pillar of the tuan tanah
351 house, main garden (lingko randang), and the
788 tuan tanah besar himself are all part of this power. All others stem from these. However, the picture is not one of a clear hierarchy. Nevertheless, if a man is very sick, for example, they may decide that it is well to go to the tjompang of the pusat kampong and go through some ceremony. However, there is not a real vivid ranking or constellation of rank.

The assistant says that the round house and the round garden are definitely related. But here again he is unclear. The house is linked with the garden, and after the rites which are held in the garden, they come back to the main house. Also there is a saying: mbarun one uman peang, i.e., "house has link with garden." When a tuan tanah besar gives a drum and a gong to a new branch kampong, he also gives it a "big garden" (lingko randang). Here is where the biggest rites are held. (Lingko means only "round garden.") And when they have rites in the garden, they go directly from the lodok there to the main post in the tuan tanah house. Thus, there seems to be a definite link between
346 the main post of the big house and the main
351 garden's lodok. There is the same parading
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864 very sure about this. Nothing is a mystery.

178 565 634 ●621 567 There have been no changes in the last fifty years in regard to social classes here, except that the kraengs have lost their power, and that Bima is no longer in. Also, the radja is now superimposed. But the regular classes are the same, and even the kraeng still get a bit of respect, although this has suffered a marked decline. Note that the Radja is a Todo kraeng, and I can see that he tries to do the best he can for his enormous "family" by getting land for them, etc.

Cornelius lists in his notes:

tu'a kilo	household head
tu'a mbaru	house head
tu'a panga	lineage chief
tu'a tenu	va'u or kampong chief
tu'a beo	elders of the kampong, collectively
gelarang	who is also a tu'a tenu
dalu	district ruler
radja	new Manggarai ruler
ata leke	commoner
ata mendi	slaves who were bought or captured
ata lampang ata sekontu ata mangko' pitu	} other slaves

The general term for "population" is ro'eng.

651 567 661 178 In the old days a tax was paid to Bima in slaves (taki). It is remembered that three men from Veol were taken off in this fashion, but it is not known where they were taken. Others were taken as slaves because they didn't behave correctly toward the Bima dignitaries.

[689] Enslavement was evidently a great form of punishment here for any infringement in showing the proper respect to authority. Today there are no more "slaves"

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565 dressed, e.g. the kapitan of Roworeke, he is not
291 dominated by an "assistant." However, he domi-
177 nates (cautiously as yet) the adat dressed mosa
554 laki. This is interesting.

565 The Pongkor kraeng said that manners differ
576 by class, and he may be right. However, I met a rough kraeng in Anam. And I think that he was from Todo too. Todo ones have a reputation of being more refined than those from Pongkor. All this probably does not mean very much.

[195] Special words are used as part of the lan-
576 guage of ceremonies and rites. However, this
178 is merely a matter of occasion. In the old days real respect was shown for the Bima dignitaries, the kraengs, etc. When one approached a kampong where there was a kraeng, one had to dismount from one's horse and remove one's shoulder cloth down to the hips, where it was wound around, leaving the torso bare.

[689] If one did not show the proper respect formerly, a whole kampong might be made lampang. Thus, enslavement was the great mass punishment. Even today there is still a bit of feeling in regard to the rank of the kraeng, although it is nothing like what it was before.

554 There are grades of pride on the kampong
●621 level, and thus Veol feels a bit higher than
614 its branch kampong Tjantjar. Also, Veol va'u feels a bit better than the incoming va'u Tjepang. But this is not a real formulization.

565 There are no approved marriages with mendi.
582 This is still very bad. It is possible to marry with other kinds of "slaves" (e.g., lampang). There are a number of such cases now in Veol. Everyone, up to the radja, may marry everyone else except the mendi. There are plenty of such mixed marriages, and even the radja has a commoner for a wife. Here again one can see the ordinary quality of the radjas

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614 582 IIIa2. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIb: Ic1; IIIa1 (4); IIIa2; IIIb (2). All OK.

IIc: IIIa1; IIIb; IIIc. All OK.

IIIa1: Ic1; Ic2; Va; Vb (2); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; Ib; IVa1. The last two are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIa2: Ia; IIIa2; IVc. All these are taboo. Letter to him.

IIIb: IIa (4); Vb (3); Leloba Kottang Waktukang; outside; IVa. The last is taboo. Letter to him.

IIIc: IIa (4); IIb; IIIa (see note); IVc (3); Vb; outside (3); IIIc (2). The last two cases are taboo. Letter to him. (note: This is the "precedent" incest case. See notes on this.)

IVa1: IIIc. OK.

IVa2: IIIb. OK.

IVb: Ic1; IIa; Leloba Kottang. All OK.

IVc: Ia; Ic1; IIb (2); IIc. All OK.

Va: IIb. OK.

Vb: Ia; IIa (2) IIb (2); IIc.

(Note: The assistant told me that the Nipatale group in IV was IVc2, but in the records his cases are noted as IVa2. Letter to him.)

Outside: outside. OK. 1 case, the guru.

●621 614 582 592 The assistant's map gives "wards" of the five clans, although he marks one place as "mainly Hurint, but mixed," and another is the Riang near Leloba, mainly if not all Leworita or Lewodoreng. According to his "wards," these are out of place:

	House	Suku	"Ward"
621	8	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
614	15	Lewodoreng	Hurint
582	17	Outside (guru)	Lewodoreng
592	18	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	21	Datong (wife Hurint	Hurint
	25	Hurint	Datong
	31	Hurint	Datong
	33	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	37	Leworita (wife Hurint)	Hurint
	41	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	42	Datong	Lewodoreng
	45	Leworita (wife Datong)	Datong
	47	Leworita	Lewodoreng
	55	Lewodoreng (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	62	Hurint	Leworita
	65	Lewato	Leworita
	66	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	67	Leworita (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	68	Lewodoreng	Lewato
	73	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	74	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	75	Hurint (wife Lewato)	Lewato
	78	Datong	Lewato
	79	Leworita	Lewato
	80	Hurint	Leworita
	81	Hurint (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	82	Hurint	Leworita
	83	Datong (wife Leworita)	Leworita
	87	Leworita	Lewato
	89	Hurint	Leworita

Thus, out of 100 houses, 30 are "out of place." Of these, however, the wife belongs to the "ward of residence" in fourteen cases. This leaves only sixteen cases which are really "out of place."

624 I tried to fill in the offices and ran into
124 some trouble. By using the records and the map
614 on which he indicated the houses of the officials,

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162 624 871 771 212

of schooling; and he is a Catholic.

(7) The mandur sekolah is 37; he finished 3 grades, and he is Catholic.

(8) Molang is 48; he is illiterate, and pagan.

(9) Of the 2 marang besar, both are in their 40's;
1 has finished 3 grades, the other is illiterate;
1 is Catholic (!!), the other is pagan.

(10) The Radja tua of the Riang is 40, illiterate, and pagan.

(11) Of the 7 ne'a luka, 1 is in his 40's, 4 are in their 50's, 2 are in their 70's;
1 has finished 3 grades of schooling, 6 are illiterate;
1 is Catholic, 6 are pagan.

(12) Of the 5 tuno wudjo, their ages are 3, 4, 5, 6, 54; all are illiterate;
4 are Catholic (small childre); 1 is pagan.

Note the large percentage of offices still held by pagans. This is far out of proportion to the actual numbers involved in the local population.

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ROWOREKE

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Sections are:

I.	Ae Uta	VII.	Nua Mere
II.	Ae Bou	VIII.	Bita
III.	Puu Djambu	IX.	Ae Mura
IV.	Kopo Edo	X.	Wolo Mere
V.	Pau Dari	XI.	Tana Ri
VI.	Rowo Reke Asal	XII.	Ndetu

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	Male	Female	Total	Sex Ratio	Houses	House-holds	Population per House
I	80	73	153		12	27	13
II	25	33	58		7	10	8
III	25	24	49		5	11	10
IV	9	12	21		2	5	11
V	18	13	31		2	8	16
VI	19	18	37		7	8	5
VII	21	19	40		8	8	5
VIII	15	26	41		8	10	5
IX	13	17	30		5	7	6
X	37	38	75		10	14	8
XI	34	31	65		16	17	4
XII	19	26	45		9	10	5
Total	315	330	645	95.2	91	135	7.1

	Children	Children under 15	Children to Adult	Children to Household	Children under 15 to Adult	Children under 15 to Household
I	92	82				
II	37	35				
III	28	28				
IV	12	9				
V	18	17				
VI	19	14				
VII	20	18				
VIII	24	24				
IX	18	18				
X	44	39				
XI	29	28				
XII	27	23				
Total	368	335	1.3	2.7	1.1	2.5

565 ranks. There is really no nobility here, only persons who are in line for posts. As for slaves, the assistant gives only the following: No. 183, male, 40, a Gusa, and a pagan. Something is probably queer here.

624 614 771 871 The only offices the assistant gives are:

1. Ata nggaeh nua: No. 1, 60, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
2. Giri tumba: No. 62, 45, Odja, pagan, illiterate.
3. Guru agama: No. 81, 25, Odja, Christian, 4 grades.
4. Kepala kampong: No. 135, 40, Odja, Christian, illiterate.
5. Kapitan: No. 350, 30, Odja, Christian, 3 grades.
6. Djurutulis: No. 509, 40, Odja, Christian, 5 grades.
7. Mandur djalan: No. 532, 40, Ndoru, Christian, 5 grades.
8. Hadji: No. 554, 40, Bangova (Nggobe), Mohammedan, 3 grades.

Odja has the most posts. The pagans seem to keep the adat posts.

War

VEOL--NDUNG

162 ●621 592

	Male	Female	Total	Houses	Households	Children	Children under 15
Veol	70	70	140	6	25	82	69
Ndung	89	117	206	9	44	111	105
Total	159	187	346	15	69	193	174

5: Kennedy--425 E-5 (1949-1950)1955 OB1 Indonesia
Flores OF9
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	Sex Ratio	Population per House	Children per Adult	Children under 15 per Adult
Veol	100.0	23.3	1.4	0.97
Ndung	76.1	22.9	1.1	1.04
Total	85.0	23.1	1.3	1.01

	Children per House	Children per Household	Children under 15 per House	Children under 15 per Household
Veol	13.7	3.3	11.5	2.8
Ndung	12.3	2.5	11.8	2.4
Total	12.9	2.8	11.6	2.5

	Households per House (The law requires that the maximum ratio shall not be over 3:)
Veol	4.2 (5, 8, 2, 4, 3, 3)
Ndung	4.9 (3, 7, 4, 3, 6, 6, 1, 4, 10)
Total	4.6

Population per House

Veol		Ndung	
No. 1	38	No. 7	11
2	46	8	32 (round)
3	9	9	20
4	11	10	10
5	19	11	25 (round)
6	17 (round)	12	28 (round)
		13	6
		14	19
		15	55

IEBCF 12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Buru OH8
Enggano OD6 Ceram OH4
Flores OF9 Gayo-Alas OD7
Redjang-Lampong. OD12

2. *Localized clans.*—The complex of localized sub-clans seems to occur in the interior of many of the smaller islands (*e.g.*, Enggano, Buru, Ceram and Flores).[16] Along the coasts, however, mixed villages have grown up consisting of over-seas aliens and emigrant family groups from the interior. In moving toward the coast, kinship groups keep their independence. Even though they live together with the family groups of other clans in villages under a village chief (korano), they occupy their own exclusive land. The village chief, however, has but little authority over those who are not his fellow-clansmen.

3. *Regional communities of mixed clans.*—Mutually unrelated sub-clans, which make up a territorial community are reported, in the first place, among the Minangkabau. Matrilineal clan members not living in the same "nagari" do not form an autonomous community. The communities are, firstly, the family group (sub-clan) inside the village. These family groups are parts of the same portions of different clans. Those that are of the same clan have become independent by fission; secondly, some (not all) unions of such parts of family groups belonging to unrelated clans; thirdly, the "nagari" formed of sub-clans consisting of family groups, organized or not into units. Minangkabau clans, like the Gayo and the Pubian and many others, have their own names.

It is impossible to find a description of the Minangkabau which does not begin with the warning, "Do not generalize." In consequence, to an even greater degree than in other regions, only main outlines can be presented. If their social organization is to be formulated through a reconstruction of its development from the basic units on up, it is necessary to begin with a given number of clans. At a given instant, women of different clans (along with brothers and their brothers' wives) settle on either unowned land or desert land in the area of disposal of some territorial community. Gradually, the joint families grow in size, and so also the settlement.

The process is as follows. Family groups spring up from the women who are looked upon as the first mothers of the settlement. Subdivisions of clans group themselves as indivisible autonomous communities around the family property (lands, the residence, heirlooms, the family title of the head of the family). The family group (sa buah paruiq) should be imagined as originally located in a family house of its own, with the oldest man of the senior genera-

[16] In the recently explored interior of Dutch New Guinea, localized clans have also been discovered.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Gorontolo OG4 Mori-Laki OG7 Atjehnese OD4
Flores OF9 Javanese. OE5 JE

In earlier times, the desa elders were the most important functionaries throughout the entire domain of the life of the community, but today they seem to have atrophied in most regions.

There are a number of "free" desa (perdikan, pekunchen, mijen, pesantren), which received special immunities and privileges from the native princes in the past and whose special character has been recognized by the Dutch Government.

Communities of Christians are not desa in the native sense, but simply communities of Christians belonging to a desa and possessing their own property (church and funds) and autonomy.

12. *The territorially-based community in Atjeh.*—The autonomous communities of Atjeh are also exclusively territorial. This is true for the large regional communities, as well as the villages. Patrilineal clans (kawon) still have some measure of importance in the highlands, but they do not enter into the structural organization of the territorial community.

Atjeh is broken up into a hundred or more regional communities for which there is no native term, and which today exist as territorities or sub-divisions of territories under autocratic, hereditary governors (uleebalang or chiq), and in the directly governed territory, native communes. At the head of each village is a village chief (keuchiq or peutua), a man formerly appointed by the regional chief, but now the holder of an hereditary office. He is "the father of the village." Beside him stands the male "mother of the village," the spiritual ruler who attends to religious and Islamic affairs. Assisted by a council of elders (ureueng tuha), these two rule the village.

13. *Additional territorially-based communities.*—The last group of peoples to be listed as having purely territorial communities are those on the islands of Bangka and Billiton, and in the Malayan territory of Borneo and the East Coast of Sumatra, in addition to which are the "subdistricts" of Gorontolo, and the villages of Bolaang Mongondow.

The natives of the Banggai Archipelago live scattered over their islands without any form of political union. Such chiefs as do exist appear to be foreign intrusions established by the native princes. The Ngada people, who live on the island of Flores, are also without community organization. The small family groups, which make up the population, live entirely independent of each other, without any higher community organization.

The various types of community, which we have now outlined,